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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A STUDY OF GORGONEION ANTEFIXES FROM LUCANIA

by

CHARMAINE LYNN GORRIE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

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SPRING 1987

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Date March 19, 1987

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ABSTRACT

The gorgon and gorgoneion were popular motifs for architectural terra-cotta decoration in the Mediterranean area, especially as antefixes that adorned the roof tiles. Despite its prevalence, this type of decoration has only recently come under study. This thesis deals with gorgoneion antefixes in the area of Lucania in Southern Italy, and in particular a recent find from the site of Roccagloriosa, addressing the problem of their distribution, development, and use, and specifically how their production reflects the important events of the IV and III centuries in Lucania. The antefixes are found along the valleys of the Basento, Bradano, and Ofanto rivers, that were the major trade and communication routes between the Greek cities of the Ionian coast and sites on the Tyrrhenian sea. In the IV and V centuries the gorgoneion antefixes from Lucania were closely tied to the production of the Greek sites of Metaponto and Taranto. The IV century, however, sees a change in this close connection to Greek models, with a mixing of influences, an increase in the number of sites that produce antefixes, as well as a possible modification in the use of these antefixes. These changes are perhaps a reflection of the rapid developments occurring at the Lucanian centers at this time, with an increase in the number of fortifications and evidence for a move toward the centralization of these settlements. This transformation appears to point to the development of an "ethnic" strength among the Lucanians at this time that is reflected in the gorgon antefixes when the local artisans confer on their products an identity and a character that can be distinguished from every other production.

PREFACE

The gorgon and gorgoneion were popular motifs for architectural decoration in the Mediterranean area, especially as antefixes which adorned the roof tiles. Gorgon antefixes have been found in Asia Minor, the mainland of Greece, Magna Graecia and Sicily, as well as in the indigenous areas of Italy such as Etruria, Campania, Daunia, and Lucania.

Despite their prevalence, architectural terra-cottas, and in particular gorgon antefixes, have long been neglected in favour of the more artistically significant pedimental sculpture and reliefs and have only recently come under study. The earliest work to deal with these terra-cottas was Kekulé's Das Terrakotten von Sicilien of 1884. The first study to deal specifically with architectural terra-cottas was Das Terrakotten aus Campanien by H. Koch in 1912, which included a detailed and careful catalogue of the material from this area as well as examining the technical processes involved. This pioneer work was followed in the 1920's by E.D. Van Buren's triad of books on the subject: Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium (1921), Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia (1923), and Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period (1929), which contained a discussion and catalogue of these architectural terra-cottas according to site.

Unfortunately these works, although excellent studies, are limited

by their early publication dates, and therefore omit almost fifty years of excavation. A more recent study was Arvid Andrén's Architectural Terra-Cottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples of 1940, which as the title suggests, contains a discussion and catalogue of all types of Etruscan terra-cotta decoration (revetments, acroteria, antefixes), but also includes a brief discussion of Asia Minor, the Greek mainland, Magna Graecia, Sicily, and Campania. Ake Akerström in 1966 published a more recent study of these decorations from Asia Minor in Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens. All of these works have been supplemented over the years in scattered publications by various authors, in particular C. Laviosa on Taranto, P. Orlandini's studies in Sicily, and most recently N. Winter in Etruria, but no comprehensive study exists on these architectural decorations for all areas.

This same lack of a study of architectural decoration, and in particular the gorgon antefix, is also noted for Lucania, more understandably since excavations in this area have only recently been undertaken. For the area of Daunia as well there is no extensive study, and although the female head types have been examined by M. Mazzei, a similar treatment of the gorgoneia is warranted. In Lucania Giovanna Greco has done some extensive work on gorgon antefixes from Lavello and Serra di Vaglio, but a true comparative study and historical development have not yet been attempted, and the majority of antefixes have only been given brief mention in excavation reports. It was out of this lack, discovered in an attempt to classify a fragment of a gorgon antefix from the recent excavations at Roccagloriosa, that this thesis topic developed. Using Greco's work as a basis this thesis will be an attempt to study these

antefixes as a whole in order to examine any interesting features of their distribution, development, and usage, and therefore to fit the Roccagloriosa gorgoneion into this scheme. Unfortunately this study will be limited due to the availability of published material, the number of antefixes that have actually been published, as well as considerations of length. I have depended on the studies of others for some of the information, as personal observation of these pieces was impossible. In addition, some of the antefixes have only been examined from photographs and thus descriptions of these pieces have been limited.

Before examining the antefixes in detail a brief discussion of the general background of the subject, such as origins and technical features, is in order. Since antefixes in Lucania cannot be treated as isolated phenomena, in this first chapter a discussion of the types of antefixes, and in particular gorgoneia, from other regions will also be included, with particular attention and detail focused on those areas that had the most influence on Lucania. Chapter Two will deal with the antefixes found in Lucania dating from the VI to the III centuries B.C. Unfortunately, as was stated above, this will be rather limited, but from the available material a good sampling of gorgoneion antefixes from the area of Lucania has been acquired. Chapter Three consists of observations and trends that have been noted from this study of gorgon antefixes that confirm already existing ideas about Lucania in the various periods, as well as raising new questions. The fourth chapter is given to a study of a terra-cotta gorgoneion from the recent excavations at Roccagloriosa and its place in the development as a whole.

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I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

ORIGINS

The practice of covering buildings with a revetment of terra-cotta began at quite an early date, due for the most part to technical considerations. [1] In order to protect buildings made of perishable materials such as sun-dried brick, wood, or loose cut stone from the elements a system of terra-cotta sheathing was developed that also served to decorate the various architectural parts. The wooden roof which was the most exposed area was also provided with the protection of terra-cotta slabs.

Based on the literary tradition, particularly Pliny's Natural History, and archaeological finds most scholars believe that Corinth either invented this architectural decoration or further developed and then widely distributed to other areas certain types of revetments that were originally from Asia Minor. [2] In this system of decoration, along with revetment plaques that covered the architrave and cornice, there developed a need to in some way decorate and disguise the joinings of the cover and pan-tiles which served to protect the roof. These architectural ornaments, which were called "kalypters" in Greek, and later "antefixes" in Latin, took the form of both decorative (palmettes, spirals) and figurative motifs (female heads, silens, gorgons). One of the earliest temples to be decorated with this complete system of terra-cotta decoration was the temple of Apollo at Thermon dated to 620 B.C.

The development of figurative terra-cotta antefixes is again credited to Corinth in the literary tradition, with Pliny in Natural History XXXV, 12 stating that Butades of Sicyon, a potter working at Corinth, invented the art of modelling clay and was the first to place the form of the human head on the end of cover-tiles. To this point in time, however, no figured antefixes have surfaces at Corinth. On the contrary, the simple palmette, sometimes combined with a lotus blossom, is the dominant type of Corinthian antefix. [3] Modern scholars, however, see the inspiration for figurative antefixes in the use of male and female heads as decorative elements in Corinthian pottery [4] and verification of the Corinthian origin by the presence of these types of antefixes at areas in Northwest Greece under Corinthian influence. Kalydon, Korkrya, and Thermon have antefixes in the form of human heads and gorgons for their architectural decoration that are believed to be based on Corinthian prototypes. [5] It is, however, possible that the colonists themselves developed these types of antefixes, albeit based on their Corinthian traditions, or even that the idea for this type of decoration came from elsewhere.

One of the most popular types of figurative antefixes was the gorgon protome or gorgoneion. This motif is certainly Greek in origin and was probably developed from an Egyptian of Syrian form, [6] but there is no definite agreement on this. Although the mythological gorgon was familiar to the poets and appears in Homer (Odyssey XI, 634, Iliad V, 741, XI, 361) and Hesiod (Theogony, lines 270 ff.) it did not have a distinctive, formalized representation in art until very early in the VII century B.C. when the traditional image appears in the Corinthian sphere, often

being depicted on Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases. This gorgon had a mask-like face with a grimacing mouth, tusks, pendent tongue, small ears represented in full view, and snakes as hair. It is not our place here to deal with the religious or psychological interpretations of this creature, but it is enough to say that the mask was probably a personification of a natural phenomenon or animal which acted as a protective agent against evil. [7] The shape of this device was easily adapted to antefix decoration and its apotropaic quality served both as a spiritual and physical protection of the building.

Pliny in Natural History XXXV, 152 states that the art of modelling clay was introduced into Italy by the Greek artisans who accompanied Demaratus when he fled to Etruria from Corinth in 657 B.C. Archaeological excavations have shown that the system of terra-cotta roofing was introduced into Italy around the middle of the VII century B.C. Roof tiles from this period found at Italic sites are based on the Greek system that spread from the Greek colonies, although they often combine a flat Corinthian pan-tile with a curved Laconian cover-tile. [8] Antefixes were also part of this decorative scheme, with figurative motifs being the most popular both among the colonists and the Italic peoples. These were probably introduced into Italy from the Corinthian sphere through Korkyra, which as a geographical land bridge to the mainland appears to have had artistic ties to the west. [9]

Some scholars, however, disagree with this origin. [10] Instead of a Corinthian invention, they propose that antefixes with figurative motifs were developed in Italy by combining the strong Italic tradition

of using heads as a decorative motif [11] with the newly imported antefix form. These antefix motifs were adopted by the Greek colonies of the west and then spread to the mainland. Evidence for this is the early dates of head antefixes from the recent excavations at Poggio Civitate. These antefixes date to 650 B.C. which predate those from the Northwest sites of Kalydon (630 B.C.), Thermon (620 B.C.), and Korkyra (610-600 B.C.). It is also possible that gorgon antefixes, as well as those with female heads, developed first in the west and then spread to the east through Taranto to Korkyra [12] as it was definitely a more popular motif earlier in southern Italy than in Greece both among the colonists and indigenous centers. These questions of origins are still a topic of much debate which must be rather briefly passed over here.

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Antefixes generally have the form of a round or semi-circular disc, usually somewhat larger than the diameter of the tile. This tile was either attached to the upper part of the antefix so that the lower portion hung free, or the lower part was attached so that the upper portion projected above. Antefixes of large size, usually those from Etruria and Latium which could be up to 48 cm. in height and 44 cm. in width, most of which was taken up by the shell frame, were sometimes attached to the tile by struts for added support. In the Greek sphere struts were rarely used as the antefixes were generally of a moderate size (25 cm. in diameter). [13]

Moulds were used in order to facilitate production of antefixes, since more than one was needed in decoration. They were usually moulded in one piece together with the cover-tile. To make the mould, wet clay was pressed in layers onto the archetype until the desired thickness was obtained. After removal from the archetype, the mould was touched up with a modelling tool and then fired. The relief of the antefixes was often accentuated by vibrant colours, commonly red, black, and white. Since moulds were sometimes used to produce other moulds, it is possible to work out a sequence of generations among related terra-cottas by measuring the size differences that occur due to the reduction resulting from the shrinkage of the clay during firing and drying. Thus a terra-cotta can be placed within a family of moulds whose ancestry can be traced back to a common source or model. [14]

This use of moulds for antefix fabrication facilitated their distribution as well as their production. Moulds could easily be exported to other areas, often over great distances. A notable example is the movement of Capuan moulds and possibly even craftsmen [15] as far as Himera in Sicily. Here radial antefixes with female heads, palmettes, and gorgoneion motifs dating to the first half of the V century B.C. have been discovered that are surrounded by a nimbus in the Campanian manner. [16]

ANTEFIXES FROM OTHER AREAS

In order to study the gorgoneion antefixes from Lucania and in particular from Roccagloriosa it is first necessary to discuss briefly

antefixes from other areas of the Mediterranean and in particular Italy.

Greece

Antefixes, which include gorgoneia, are limited in fictile decoration in the Greek mainland to the archaic period. Before the middle of the VI century B.C. there is a tendency to reduce the figurative decoration of the temple to the metopes and acroteria, while stylized palmettes were used for the antefixes, first in terra-cotta, then in stone. After the end of the VI century B.C. figurative antefixes do not appear at all in the mainland.[17] It is possible, however, that antefixes may have been used for minor buildings made from wood and have not survived.

In the Greek areas of Asia Minor the gorgon was also a popular motif for antefixes, with examples from Sinope, Miletus, and Larisa. These antefixes continued to be used up to the Hellenistic age.[18]

Etruria and Latium

The Etruscan territory, originally the area of modern Tuscany, eventually extended by means of conquest and settlement into Umbria to the north and south into Latium, the area between the Appenines and the Tyrrhenian sea.

Early examples of gorgon antefixes in Latium and Etruria have been discovered at Vignanello, Rome, and Poggio Civitate dating as early as

575 B.C. This early date, which is contemporaneous with or might even predate gorgoneia from the sites of Northwest Greece that fell under Corinthian influence and those from Sicily, has been given as evidence for an independent Italian development for this type of antefix. These gorgons, however, are related to Corinthian gorgoneia depicted on Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases. [19] They are all unframed and are rendered more or less in the round. Soon after this, under the influence of Campania, the Etrusco-Latial antefixes develop a nimbus around the face of the gorgoneion. In time, however, this shallow disc surrounded by tongues is further developed in Etruria and Latium into a shell-like frame of highly decorative effect, and the deep shadows created by the cavity bring the head out in full relief. The Etrusco-Latial gorgon was always of the horrid type accentuated by polychrome decoration, exemplified by the fine examples from Veii. In Etruria antefixes continued to be used until the Roman age, and numerous models of temples and shrines portray antefixes used on the long sides, along the architrave, and on the horizontal geison. [20]

Campania

Campania lies between the Appenines and the Tyrrhenian Sea, extending south from Latium to the Surrentine promontory. In Campania the oldest type of gorgoneion is paralleled by the earliest types found in Magna Graecia, especially at Taranto, and probably derived from the same artistic model- Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases. [21] Tarantine connections to Campania can also be seen in the female head type antefixes. Examples from Capua and Minturnae of c. 580-70 B.C. apparently

drew inspiration from Taranto. [22] J. Heurgon, however, states that the bearded face commonly represented on Capuan gorgoneia is an iconographic attribute of Greco-oriental provenance introduced by the Chalcideans into the west. [23] With the passage of time there is a tendency toward more elaborate polychrome decoration in Campania and during the first half of the VI century B.C. the gorgoneion antefix derived from the Greek model begins to be surrounded by a nimbus of cordoned tongues, a style that becomes very popular at the end of the VI century and on. These gorgons had staring eyes, small highly set ears, a broad nose, a curved grinning mouth with raised lips exposing two rows of even teeth, sometimes with four pointed tusks, a pendent tongue, a beard of flame-like tufts, and a row of hair locks around the almost circular face. [24] There is a development from a very flat mask with clear-cut features to a more plastic, but less ferocious form. [25] In the period after 480 B.C. Tarantine influences appear again in Campania at least in types other than gorgons. Palmette antefixes from Pompeii show a new stylistic impulse from Taranto, [26] and at Fratte de Salerno Tarantine influences appear in female head antefixes in the course of the V century. [27] In some gorgoneion antefixes of the later period more "Italic" representations appear, following the invasion of Oscan speaking Sabelli in the late V century B.C. For example, an antefix from Capua presents a "deformation" of the Greek form in an interpretation more suited to the local taste. [28]

Campanian antefixes appear to have been used mainly to decorate sacred buildings. The numerous antefixes from Capua decorated the buildings of the sanctuary at Fondo Patturelli. In Campania as well as

using gorgoneia for antefixes, they were used also as frontal decoration on small shrines, a practice that is documented by surviving examples of these "antepagmenta" as well as representations on votive models.[29]

Daunia

That area of southeastern Italy north of Lucania that is bounded on the south by the river Ofanto, by the Fertur river to the north, and the Candelero river to the east has been included in our study of Daunia.

Two principal types of antefixes from Daunia can be distinguished- a female head with a nimbus of the Etrusco-Campanian type and the Magna Graecian circular gorgoneion. The former seems to be found more frequently in the northern part of Daunia while the latter in the south, a division that corresponds with a cultural differentiation that occurs at the end of the VI- beginning of the V century between the north that has connections to Campania and the south-central and coastal areas that appear to have had more ties with the Piceni and the centers of the Adriatic coast. The gorgoneion antefixes, which are our concern here, from the early period at Ascoli and Ordona reflect these influences and are related to the Metapontine sphere. These examples also have an affinity to the antefixes that will be discussed in Chapter Three from the Melfese territory in southern Basilicata, a rapport that is also reflected in ceramic wares. The gorgoneion antefixes continue to be produced in Daunia until the middle of the IV century B.C. following the developments in the Greek centers with representations of circular

gorgoneia, the "calm" type or the "pathetic" Medusa. [30] Indigenous versions of these Greek forms are also represented in Daunia in the later period, exemplified by an antefix from Arpi that reflects a "deformation" and abstraction that also takes place in Lucania and Campania at this time. [31]

Unfortunately owing to the nature of their discovery, often from private collections, it is not possible to securely define the use of these antefixes. They were probably used for smaller sacred buildings as in other areas, although only a few sites in Daunia have yielded buildings with a definitive sacred nature. [32] Other uses, such as for domestic architecture, can only be hypothesized.

Sicily

In Sicily antefixes were infrequently used on temples, since the preferred type of decoration was the lateral sima, but they were often used for minor buildings in the sanctuary zone such as "thesauroi" and "naisoi". [33] These antefixes generally have a round or semi-circular form with the gorgoneia being a common motif, although palmettes, silens, and other motifs applied only in paint are also found. [34] The gorgon appears in Sicily as early as the middle of the VII century B.C. in the form of a plaque from Syracuse [35] that was either used as frontal decoration or as a metope, but the earliest antefixes date to the VI century B.C. and this type of decoration continues to be used into the IV and III centuries B.C. The Sicilian gorgoneion has many variants- with or without beard, encircling snakes, and tusks, but always with a

grinning mouth and pendent tongue.[36] These antefixes generally have close connections to types from Taranto on the mainland which appears to have been the source of most of the models. The Sicilian antefixes follow the chronological development of those from Taranto, but the "calm" or "pathetic" type of gorgoneia of the late Classical-Hellenistic period does not seem to be represented in antefix production, but this motif was used on small discs applied to pottery.[37] During the IV and III centuries, in particular at Gela, there is actually a tendency towards an archaizing of style for gorgon antefixes with the revival in the use of moulds of the VI and V centuries B.C.[38]

The indigenous settlements of Sicily also used gorgon antefixes based on the Greek models. Examples from Monte Bubbonia and Morgantina are local productions that reflect influences from the Greek centers.[39]

Greek Centers of Southern Mainland Italy

At the Greek sites of the mainland, as in Sicily, antefixes were usually relegated to the minor buildings of sanctuaries, with the lateral sima being the preferred decoration for temples. Therefore at most of these sites the discovery of antefixes is rather isolated. Two sites, however, are noted for their production of antefixes. The vast number of antefixes found at Taranto (nearly 120 different types from almost 800 pieces conserved in the museum) along with its strong tradition in coroplastic production of statuettes, "protomai", and reliefs have given its workshops a certain priority in the production and exportation of antefix moulds among Magna Graecian centers and into the interior.[40]

Antefixes found at Ruvo, Ciro, Medma, Caulonia, and Reggio Calabria [41] resemble Tarantine types and may be replicas or imitations of these. Other areas closer to Taranto are also connected, such as Policoro, ancient Siris/Heraclea, and Gioia del Colle. [42] Metaponto as well has yielded a number of gorgon antefixes which also have connections to Taranto, but in the early period this site is now believed to have had more independence in its antefixe production and much more influence on the interior sites in the VI and V centuries B.C.

It was with Taranto and Metaponto that the Lucanian settlements came into contact in the VI century, copying their manner of building decoration and borrowing stylistic models. It is therefore necessary to study their products in order to understand the Lucanian antefixes, which in the early period were either imported from these sites or copied, and in the later periods, interpreted by the local artisans from the models inherited from the Greek colonies.

Taranto

Taranto, a colony of Sparta, was founded in about 706 B.C. along the Ionian coast on a peninsula which juts out into the Gulf of Taranto. This peninsula acted as a protection of its inner harbour, the Mare Piccolo. Along with this fine harbour, the area also possessed natural trading advantages in the many rivers that run almost parallel from the inland mountains of ancient Lucania into the Ionian sea which provided routes of travel into the interior. Taranto's political as well as artistic influence was not very wide spread during the VI century, when it remained a small but prosperous city, although its

issue of incuse coinage implies an economic relationship with other Greek colonies. [43] Not until the beginning of the V century did it start its expansion into the territory of the Iapygians and Messapians, and only after the victory over Iapygia around the middle of that century did Taranto's artistic and cultural expansion in southern Italy take place. [44] At this time also began its influence on the indigenous centers of the interior.

Tarantine antefixes as a whole are quite varied, and contain chiefly gorgoneia and faces of Io and Artemis Bendis. The shape of the antefixes are semi-circular, semi-elliptical, and circular, and all were made from moulds in the usual manner. The Tarantine clay is rather fine and compact, with little or no impurities, varying in colour from yellow-green to red-ochre. Many of the pieces still retain traces of added paint in red, black, blue, and yellow that accentuated the relief.

The gorgoneion antefixes fall into the two types as described by A. Furtwangler in Roscher Mythologie who began the classification of gorgons in 1886. The first is characterized by an enlarged face with bulbous eyes, a trifoliate nose, a large mouth with a pendent tongue and tusks, hair in tight curls or in stylized waves, and a beard. The second has a rounder face, with an almost triangular forehead and rather oblique eyes, without the beard and with a corona of snakes around the face. The first type is probably the oldest at Taranto, but both types developed side by side, with the type of gorgon used determined more by the form of the plaque. The first type was usually applied to

the semi-elliptical or semi-circular plaque and the second to the circular plaque.

One of the earliest examples dated to the beginning of the VI century B.C. is semi-circular with a very wide face, which almost covers the entire plaque, the hair in snail-like curls, and a beard rendered by regular lines. [45] At about the beginning of the V century pearl tresses appear along with a more plastic treatment of the face, especially the nose and cheeks, and a more wispy beard. [46]

Contemporaneous to the appearance of the semi-circular antefix is the development at the end of the VI century of the "rotunda" antefix with a smoother modelling of the face, a triangular forehead and very oblique almond-shaped eyes. The face is crowned by writhing snakes and placed on a semi-elliptical plaque. [47] Analogous examples of this type are found at Ciro, Metaponto, and Reggio Calabria. In the early V century this type is represented with two large serpents at either side of the face, a motif that is found at Grammichele, Syracuse, and Camarina in Sicily, as well as nearby at Ruvo. [48] Around the middle of the V century B.C. a softening of the features begins, with a humanization of the eyes and nose, and the loss of the ferocious character. [49] During the second half of the V century the archaic gorgon of the "horrid" type gives way to the beginnings of the "calm" gorgon of the later period. The face becomes excessively round and is placed on a circular plaque, the ears are placed very high on the head, the eyes are very close together, the cheeks are reduced, and the mouth no longer has its wide grimace, but is almost closed. [50]

This "calm" type of gorgon continues to develop into the IV century B.C. and is distinguished by a rather round, serene face with human eyes and well developed eyelids, a mouth with full lips closed almost in a smile, and no pendent tongue. There is a corona of stylized serpents around the face.[51] At the end of the IV century and in the course of the III the "pathetic" of "beautiful" gorgoneia of the Hellenistic age evolve.[52] Now a totally humanized face is placed on a semi-elliptical plaque, the mouth is closed in a slight grimace and the rather inset eyes have a vaguely melancholy expression attributed to Scopaic influence. The hair has taken on a decorative effect, the thick tresses, among which are writhing serpents, undulate in waves as if blown back by the wind.

One problem with the evident Tarantine prominence in antefix exportation, either of matrices or models, is the lack of matrices for antefixes at the site of Taranto itself. While the coroplastic workshops are well attested by the presence of matrices, wasters from the kilns, and even signatures on the matrices, there is no such evidence for the workshops for antefixes.[53] Possible explanations for this may be that these moulds for antefixes were constructed differently from other types, since antefixes were probably not in as much demand as the votive statues, thus calling for a more perishable type of matrix, although matrices do survive from other areas such as Etruria and Latium. These workshops for architectural terra-cottas may also have been located outside the city walls due to space requirements for the production of these larger pieces and have therefore not yet been excavated.

The size of these antefixes is rather reduced, the largest reaching a diameter of 25 cm. and all lack the shell border that is so common in Campania and Etruria. This small size would exclude these antefixes from temple decoration and they appear to have been used to decorate the buildings of the necropolis, expecially the "naiskoi" which are well attested from vase paintings. [54]

An interesting feature of these vase paintings is the occasional representation of gorgoneia or stylized circles in the pediment of the "naiskoi". It is possible that the circular-shaped antefixes may have been used as central acroteria or the covers of the "columen" of these smaller edifices. [55] An argument against this use is the fact that no models from Greek cities from the mainland of south Italy with this type of decoration have been found, [56] but the vase painting examples cannot be ignored. These antefixes "per se" might not have been used for this purpose, since the numbers found as well as their unity of design point to a use as true antefixes, but archaeological confirmation of these depictions may exist, and a closer study of the finds from Taranto may yield such a discovery. Aside from the "naiskoi" of the burial areas there is also the possibility that antefixes were used on private buildings at Taranto, which would be justified by their presence in each zone of the city, while other types of architectural decoration are limited in their distribution. [57]

Metaponto

Metaponto was founded in the late VIII or early VII century B.C. on rich arable land strategically located on the trade routes of the

Bradano-Basento river valleys for east-west trade with Poseidonia. Metapontine commerce flourished on these routes up to the middle of the V century with a diffusion of Metapontine products in the interior sites along these river valleys [58] that continued until the ascendancy of Taranto in the area after the foundation of Heraclea in 433 B.C. [59]

The antefixes from Metaponto are not as well documented as the Tarantine, which may be due to a Metapontine preference for revetment decoration, although there is evidence that antefixes were actually used for temple decoration at this site. Both the semi-circular and circular forms are found. The Metapontine clay is orange in colour. The evidence for the activity of the workshops for architectural terra-cottas is much clearer at Metaponto than at Taranto, and it appears to have been a conduit of link between the Ionian sphere and Taranto, especially in simae and other revetment production. [60]

Early examples of Metapontine antefixes have a strong affinity to those from Taranto. One has a wide, horrid face crowned at the front with curls and pearl tresses at the sides and resembles Laviosa's no. 1, but has wider eyes and large, thick tusks. Another example has curls at the forehead and pearl tresses at the side, but with a smaller face and very small eyes (compare Laviosa's no. 3). [61]

A plaque of a gorgoneion with serpents found at Metaponto [62] dated to the middle of the VI century shows a development of the "rotunda" type of gorgoneia before those from Taranto which are dated to the end of the VI century. This type was also applied on a large scale to the

fictile decoration of temple D as antefixes as well as a decorative element on the sima. [63] This "rotunda" gorgoneion became widespread in the fictile production of Magna Graecia and Sicily at the end of the VI and through all of the V century B.C. and is widely produced at Taranto as has been noted above. It appears that in the middle of the VI century the iconographic motifs and models for these antefixes matured at Metaponto, and then spread toward Taranto, which at this time was a much less powerful city. [64] From the Ionic temple B, [65] dating from 500-480 B.C., come a number of these gorgoneia surrounded by swirling snakes with two rows of curls at the forehead, a round face of rather smooth features, small almond-shaped eyes, and a large grinning mouth exposing teeth and tusks.

No gorgoneion antefixes appear to have been found dating to the IV century B.C. and on at Metaponto, but female head antefixes from the site are closely connected to Tarantine examples of the IV century [66] and therefore the gorgon antefixes, if they existed at all, probably followed Tarantine production.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

*Abbreviations are according to those listed in AJA, 82, 1978, p. 3-4 and 84, 1980, p. 3-4. Others are listed as (Hereafter cited as ...)

1. E. Douglas Van Buren, Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period, London, 1923, p. xvii

2. Arvid Andrén, Architectural Terra-cottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples, Lund, 1940, p. lxxvi, (Hereafter cited as Andren), also Ake Akerström, Die Architectonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens, Skifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 4, XI, Lund, 1966, Introduction, (Hereafter cited as Akerstrom). For the inspiration for this type of decoration note the facings of burnt brick or glazed tiles used on Assyrian buildings.

3. Clelia Laviosa, "Le antefisse fittili di Taranto", ArchCl, 6, 1954, p. 225, (Hereafter cited as Laviosa)

4. N.A. Winter, "Archaic Architectural Terracottas Decorated with Human Heads", RomMitt 85, 1978, p. 29, (Hereafter cited as Winter (1978))

5. Andrén, p. cxlii, Laviosa, p. 225. I do not wish to enter the fray about origins, but I do feel that Corinthian influences might be somewhat overrated. The belief in the Corinthian invention of all things terra-cotta has incited scholars to make statements such as "Though this style has not been found at Corinth there is no doubt it is Corinthian.", T.J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks, p. 269, in reference to a revetment design of a Magna Graecian colony. Perhaps more imagination and creativity should be credited to the colonists.

6. H. Payne, Necrocorinthia, Oxford, 1931, p. 79

7. For a further discussion of this see T.P. Howe, "The Origin and Function of the Gorgon Head", AJA, 58, 1954, pp. 209-221, and A. Giuliano, "Gorgone" in EAA, pp. 282-85

8. Winter (1978), p. 32

9. Laviosa, p. 224

10. See Winter (1978), pp. 29-32 and J. Neils, "The Terracotta Gorgoneia of Poggio Civitate", RomMitt, 83, 1976, pp. 1-29

11. For example a bronze mask from Chuisi and various canopic urns. N. A. Winter, "Architectural Terracottas with Human Heads from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)", ArchCl, 29, 1977, pp. 23-24

12. Winter (1978), p. 30, and M. Goldberg, "Archaic Greek Acroteria", AJA, 86, 1982, p. 208

13. Andrén, p. clxiv

14. These mould series can be particularly important for the study of exchange of terra-cottas. See R.V. Nichols, "Type, Group and Series: A Reconsideration of Some Coroplastic Fundamentals", BSA, 47, 1952, pp. 217-226 and R. Miller, "Medma and the Exchange of Votive Terracottas", Papers in Italian Archaeology, Part IV, Classical and Medieval Archaeology, pp. 10-11

15. Martin Frederiksen, Campania, Oxford, 1982, pp. 176-77 believes that actual teams of artisans travelled with their moulds in order to fabricate and assemble their decorative schemes.

16. Nicola Bonacasa, "L'Area Sacra", Himera I, Campagne di Scavo, 1963-1965, Rome, 1970, pp. 220, 223

17. Laviosa, p. 224

18. Akerström, passim

19. For a discussion see M. Goldberg, AJA, 86, 1982, pp. 207-8 and J. Neils, RomMitt, 83, 1976, p. 25

20. See Romolo Staccioli, Modelli di Edifici Etrusco-Italici: I Modelli Votivi, Florence, 1968, passim, (Hereafter cited as Staccioli)

21. According to M. Frederiksen, Campania, p. 175, see also J. Floren, Studien sur Typologie des Gorgoneion, Aschendorff, 1977, passim

22. Winter (1978), p. 32

23. J. Heurgon, Recherches sur l'Histoire, la Religion et la Civilisations de Capoue Preromaine, Paris, 1942, p. 350

24. Andrén, p. clxviii

25. Ibid., see also D.M. Robinson, "Etruscan-Campanian Antefixes", AJA, 27, 1923, pp. 1-12

26. M. Frederiksen, Campania, p. 177

27. P.C. Sestieri, "Salerno, Scoperte archeologiche in localita Fratte", NSc, 6, 1952, p. 95, fig. 5

28. Terrosi Zanco, "Un'antefissa a maschera gorgonica del Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Potenza", ParPass, 98, 1964, pp. 369-370, fig. 4, and P. Orlandini, "Aspetti dell'arte indigena in Magna Graecia", Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, p. 284

29. See H. Koch, Dachterrakotten aus Campanein, Berlin, 1912, pp. 73-76 Hereafter cited as Koch), as well as Staccioli, passim

30. Information from M. Mazzei, "Appunti preliminari sulle antefisse fittile 'Etrusco-Campane' nella Daunia preromana", Taras, I, 1981, pp. 17-33 and "Importazioni ceramiche e influssi culturali in Daunia nel VI a V sec. a.C.", in Papers in Italian Archaeology, IV, Part III, Patterns in Protohistory, pp. 274-77

31. Orlandini, Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, pp. 285-86

32. Mazzei, Papers in Italian Archaeology, IV, p. 270

33. P. Orlandini, "Il nuove antefisse silenche di Gela e il loro contributo alla conoscenze del coroplastica Siceliota", ArchCl, 6, 1954, p. 251

34. Ibid.

35. Giuliano, "Gorgone" in EAA, p. 984

36. Andrén, p. cxii

37. P. Orlandini, "Materiale archeologico Gelese del IV-II sec. a.C. nel Museo Nationale di Siracusa", ArchCl, 12, 1960, p. 61

38. See Chapter Three

39. P. Orlandini, "L'espansione di Gela nella Sicilia centro-méridionale", Kokalos, 8, 1962, p. 86, and E. Sjoqvist, Sicily and the Greeks, p. 32, figs. 21, 22, 23

40. R.A. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum, London, 1954, p. 336. This preference for plastic antefixes at Taranto has been credited by R. Martin in "L'architecture de Tarente", Atti Taranto , X, 1970, pp. 311-342 to its apparent ties to the east with the Northwest colonies and Asia Minor.

41. E.D. Van Buren, Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia London, 1923, p. 142, no. 27 and Laviosa, p. 226

42. Policoro: upon personal observation at the museum at the site, Gioia del Colle: B.M. Scarfi, NSc, 16, 1962, pp. 201-2, fig. 181

43. P. Wuilleumier, Tarente des Origines a la Conquête Romaine, Paris Paris, 1923, p. 260

44. G. Greco, "Antefisse gorgoniche da Lavello", RendNap , LII, 1977, p. 140, (Hereafter cited as Greco, "Lavello"). Also F. Sartori "Eraclea di Lucana: Profilo Storico" in Herakleiastudien II, Heidelburg, 1967, p. 19

45. Laviosa, no. 1, pl. LXVIII, 1

46. Ibid., no. 3, pl. LXVIII, 3

47. Ibid., nos. 8, 9, pl. LXXI, 2

48. Van Buren, Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia, p. 81

49. Laviosa, no. 12, pl. LXX, 5

50. Ibid., no. 17, pl. LXXI, 4

51. Ibid., nos. 18-20, pls. LXXI, 5 and LXXII, 1, 2

52. Ibid., nos. 21-25, pls. LXXII, 3, 4, 5 and LXXIII, 1, 2

53. Ibid., p. 233

54. Ibid., p. 221. The greater number of antefixes have come from the excavations of Nuova Citta which was the site of the ancient necropolis as opposed to the old part of the city where the acropolis and temples were located.

55. As suggested by Koch, pp. 2-10

56. Laviosa, p. 219

57. Ibid., p. 221

58. Greco, "Lavello", p. 143. Funerary equipment found at Montescaglioso, Miglionico, Timmari, Pisticci, Garaguso, as well as antefixes from Serra di Vaglio and Lavello, which will be discussed in the next chapter, denote Metapontine connections.

59. Adamesteanu, Mertens, and D'Andria, Metaponto I, Supplemento, NSc, 29, 1975, p. 55, footnote 153

60. G. Andreassi, "Il Dibattito", Atti Taranto, X, 1970, p. 421

61. G.F. Lo Porto, "Metaponto, Scavi e recerche archeologiche", NSc, 21, 1967, p. 150, figs. 1 and 2

62. G. Andreassi, "Sime fittili Tarantine con grondaia gorgonica", RomMitt, 79, 1972, p. 183

63. D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens and A. De Siena, "Sanctuario di Apollo. Tempio D", BdA, 60, 1975, p. 26, fig. 43

64. Greco, "Lavello", p. 140

65. Adamesteanu, Mertens, and D'Andria, Supplemento, NSc, 29, 1975, p. 108, fig. 105

66. Ibid., p. 108, fig. 105, also J.C. Carter, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pizzica Pantanello (1974-76), Metaponto", Supplemento, NSc, 31, 1977, p. 456, no. 28, fig. 31

II. GORGON ANTEFIXES FROM LUCANIA

Lucania was the area of Southern Italy held by Oscan speaking peoples that extended from the hinterland of Metaponto and Taranto to the Tyrrhenian Sea, bounded by Campania, Apulia, and Samnium to the south and Bruttium to the north. The major arteries of trade in the area were the river valleys of the Bradano, Basento, Cavone, and Agri, which were the routes of communications between the Ionian and Tyrrhenian seas.

Hellenic influences had been penetrating Lucania from an early period. [1] At the end of the VI century the indigenous populations along these major rivers began to decorate their sacred buildings according to the Greek system with forms, and even moulds from the Greek cities of the coast. Although the local artisans relied heavily on Greek models and even matrices, they did, however, preserve a certain autonomy by producing local variants of these imported Greek forms that are unique to areas and individual settlements. (See figure 1 for a map of the sites discussed in this chapter.)

THE VALLEYS OF THE BASENTO AND THE BRADANO RIVERS

Serra di Vaglio

The mountain of Serra (ht. 1092 m.), at the center of modern Basilicata, is situated at the confluence of the Tiera into the Basento

river. Huts occupied the site at the end of the Iron Age, the floors and relative tombs of which were disturbed by the imposition of structures in the course of the VI century B.C. This archaic settlement, situated at the center of the level plain that constitutes the summit of Monte Serra, appears to continue through a large part of the V century and consisted of an organization of buildings along a system of streets. [2] Architectonic fictile decoration, in the form of gorgoneia and palmette antefixes, is one of the characteristic elements of the excavations at Serra di Vaglio and offer evidence of diverse buildings that show a level of social organization and contact with other settlements.[3]

All of the gorgon antefixes from Serra di Vaglio are of the "horrid" type and are of small size (18-20 cm.). Twelve different variations from four distinct types have been identified by G. Greco [3] in her study of approximately forty fragments for the site of Serra di Vaglio and the surrounding Braida countryside. The two most popular forms are the semi-elliptical plaque with snail-like curls at the forehead and the type on a round plaque with a corona of snakes around the face. The semi-circular plaque was also used, although not as frequently. The antefixes were enhanced by colour, usually ochre, bright red, brown, and sometimes yellow. No matrices for these antefixes have yet been found, but the presence of local imitations and variations of Greek forms points to some local production. Unfortunately, for the most part, these antefixes cannot be attributed to well determined buildings either of public of private use, although recent excavations have produced some results in this regard.

In the first half of the VI century the Greek plan of a grand "plateia" bordered by buildings decorated by antefixes was adopted at Serra di Vaglio. A sacred area used during the archaic phase that was probably also decorated with terra-cottas also existed outside the walls on the slopes of Serra (the Braida countryside).[5] These antefixes recall completely the Greek sphere and more precisely the Metapontine.[6] Variant II[7] which is circular with small, almond-shaped eyes, a broad nose, and a corona of plastic snakes, dated to the VI century resembles Metapontine examples,[8] but is brightly coloured according to the local taste.

In the V century local production of these antefixes begins[9] that sees a "degeneration" of the Greek models, which are still well represented at this time. More recent excavations (1978) have determined the establishment and systemization of the buildings pertaining to that century. A lengthened rectangular building discovered during these excavations, 23.50 m. on the long sides, 7. m. on the short, called building A, has two openings on the east side and an internal division, and was aligned on the street axis. Parallel to A is building B of identical dimensions, equal orientation, and alignment. Around almost all of the external perimeter of building A, with a greater density on the long sides, numerous recognizable fragments of gorgon antefixes of the established variant IV were found.[10] This type is distinguished by a semi-circular plaque with a bearded face, but without snakes. Two other types of antefixes with a semi-elliptical shape that is also bearded and lacks the snakes have been dated to the first half of the V century. One has two rows of curls at the forehead,[11] the other has

pearl locks [12]. All of these types appear to be local imitations, probably of Tarantine models [13] which reflect a softening of the bestial characteristics of the archaic type. Although there is no provenance for these other antefix types it can be assumed that some of the buildings contemporaneous to A were decorated in the same manner.

There is a caesura of activity at Serra di Vaglio at the first half of the IV century, with the apparent destruction of the first two phases suddenly followed by fire. [14] After the second half of the century as far as c. 250 B.C. the frequentation of Serra improves and rebuilding occurs, but with a different construction technique and in a disorderly fashion no longer respecting the street axes. [15] At this time a large drainage canal was built, a "basolato" pavement that was probably used as a meeting place, as well as a large, circuitous, defensive wall of approximately 150 hectares. [16] Unfortunately no antefixes have been attributed to this phase at Serra di Vaglio, but perhaps the cruder local representations can be placed here, [17] as this period is noted by the presence of a local spirit with its own interpretations of original Greek elements. [18] Perhaps antefixes adorned the buildings around the "basolato", as well as at other areas at the site.

Oppido Lucano

Oppido Lucano is situated in the locality of Montrone, an isolated hill on the left bank of the Bradano river. A nucleus of huts existed here from the IX-VIII centuries B.C. The archaic phase of the site is marked only by a necropolis of "fossa" tombs. There is again, as at

other Lucanian sties, a caesura of activity from the middle of the V to the middle of the IV centuries, when a vast habitation is built over the zone first occupied by the necropolis. In the course of the first half of the III century the frequentation of the area of Montrone ends. [19]

A semi-circular antefix representing a gorgoneion, with a base of 25 cm. and a height of 19 cm., and two fragments of the same type have been found at this site. [20] The particular interest of these antefixes is their "provincial" character that is derived from archaic examples of the type that existed at Taranto in the middle of the VI century. [21] Here the curls of the hair are reduced to large blobs, the tongue is thick and bilobate, and the serpents have diminished to decorative elements. The border is unusual, with a thick outer edge followed by two thin ones around the face. The bottom of the plaque has thick vertical lines.

No precise comparisons for this type have been found, but local interpretations of Greek types have already been noted at Serra di Vaglio. This "provincial" characteristic also points to local production of moulds and fabrication of these antefixes. [22] No definite date has been assigned to the antefixes from Oppido Lucano, but their derivation from Greek antefixes of the archaic period indicates a similar time frame, and are given the date of the beginning of the V century by their excavators when local production begins to occur at other sites in Lucania. The strange representation with its unusual border, as well as the "archaizing" tendency [23] may also point to a later date of the IV century when local interpretation takes on an added impulse (see below)

and thus these antefixes may belong to the IV century habitation.

Irsina

From Irsina comes a gorgoneion of a circular type surrounded by a corona of snakes with curls at the forehead and almond-shaped eyes. The lower portion of the face is missing. A triangular cover-tile is still attached at the back. [24] This example is very similar to an antefix from Metaponto [25] as well as type Ia from Lavello [26]. The similar typological and stylistic characteristics denote a provenance from a single matrix that seems to have travelled from Metaponto up the Bradano all the way to Irsina. [27] This antefix is dated to the end of the VI century B.C. and is assigned to a sacred building of the Greek type. [28]

Torretta di Pietragalla

Situated almost at the source of the Bradano river, this site controlled the routes from the Ionic coast to the Vultura area and the basin of the Ofanto river. The major occupation of this site occurred in the IV century B.C. A small necropolis of the VII-VI centuries has been found, but with no apparent connection to the later phase. The summit of the hill is enclosed by a wall of squared blocks, and the plain on the east side is protected by another wall with a gate guarded by a tower. No structures or necropoli have yet been found. [29]

From this site comes a fragment of a gorgoneion of local interpretation of the advanced "calm" or "pathetic" type developed at Taranto.

It has a very small, flat, simplified face, with a straight nose, and eyes that have been outlined to give the effect of being deep-set in the manner of the Hellenistic Greek models.[30] The face is framed by two contorted snakes and the entire gorgoneion is set in what appears to be the beginnings of an almost shell-like frame. Stylistically this piece belongs to the local interpretations of the later IV century and therefore this antefix was probably used to decorate some structure of the IV century settlement.

THE VALLEY OF THE OFANTO RIVER

Lavello

Lavello is situated to the south of the Ofanto between Venosa and to the west between the cities of Melfi, Rapollo, and Rionero. The historical record of this site is rather scarce. Ceramic material and metals found in the period of the Iron Age reveal early cultural contacts with Daunia. In the VI century the central habitation was formed by small agglomerations that were scattered along the hill of Gravetta that is positioned to the northeast of the actual central settlement. A vast necropolis was identified in the locality of San Felice, which was also probably a cult place, that continued in use until the IV century. The architectural documentation does not extend beyond the III century, when the occupation of the site probably ended with the foundation in 291 B.C. of the Latin colony of Venosa.[31]

Some of the major finds from the site are numerous gorgon antefixes

that were recovered from a private collection in 1965. [32] Unfortunately, owing to the nature of their discovery, it is difficult to assign these antefixes to exact buildings or even exact locations. The antefixes are all circular in shape. On the reverse are preserved triangular settings for the Corinthian cover-tiles, and in some cases the tiles themselves. This presence of the cover-tiles, the reduced size (18-24 cm.), the unity of type, as well as the numerous examples of each type points to the use of these antefixes along the sides of buildings, and not as frontal decoration. These were probably small sacred buildings, "naiskoi", or other funerary edifices. [33] No matrices for these antefixes have yet been found.

It is possible to determine two possible types of gorgon antefixes at Lavello. The first group is basically of the "rotunda" type, with a horrid face, small eyes, triangular forehead, a grinning mouth with pendent tongue, and a corona of snakes. A development of this type can be distinguished in the fierce archaic characteristics changing to a softening of the features in an almost caricaturish manner in the course of the V century. These gorgon antefixes from Lavello find comparisons with the architectural terra-cottas of Metaponto and the nearby locality of San Biagio. The type Ia, with its less plastic and more conservative features, is closely tied to the original type imported from Metaponto [34] and one example [35] may even come from a Metapontine matrix, but with vibrant colours added in accordance with the local taste. A gorgoneion from Irsina is also very similar to Ia and appears to have come from the same matrix that travelled from Metaponto up the Basento river valley to Irsina and then overland to Lavello. [36]

Some examples of type I, however, have variations not found elsewhere except at Lavello, such as a row of looser curls ("lumachella") around the snail-like curls at the forehead, which show local interpretations of Greek models. These variations reveal that, although at this period there was an acculturation of the indigenous populations, the local artisans still preserve their own autonomous artistic sphere, [37] an event that is paralleled at this time also at Serra di Vaglio. The caricaturization of these gorgoneia in the course of the V century is probably also the local interpretations of the softening of features that occurs in the Greek centers. [38]

In the IV century the gorgons of the second type at Lavello are produced, which are characterized by the loss of the horrid features all together with the face assuming the aspect and linearity of a normal female face. [39] The rendering of the hair has changed to straight tresses pulled away from the face, the forehead is no longer triangular, the eyes are rather inset which accentuates the pathetic expression, and the ears are now cencealed by a mass of hair. The corona of snakes has become purely stylistic, tied in a knot at the bottom, and serves as a decoration to frame the face. No precise Greek models can be identified for these antefixes that can only be seen as individual local products.

Banzi

From the VI to the IV centuries this site consisted of small isolated nuclei that are almost exclusively documented by the

disposition of necropoli. These nuclei were concentrated into one settlement only in the course of the III century when the Romans took an interest in controlling the traffic between the Ofanto basin and the Bradano. Evidence from the finds of votive materials also indicates that in the course of the IV century a local sanctuary, Fontana dei Monaci, was in use.[40]

From this sanctuary comes an antefix with a gorgon protome.[41] The whole face is preserved, but the top portion of the hair is missing. The face has no beard, small, almond-shaped eyes with lines for eyelids, a grinning mouth with four tusks, and a pendent tongue of the archaic "horrid" type that appears to have disappeared at other sites by this time.[42] Around the face are what appear to be very stylized snakes followed by another row of decorative swirls. The shape of the plaque, which is almost round with slight edges, at least as can be gleaned from the surviving portion, is very unusual. Since this antefix is said to belong to the sanctuary, its date would be in the IV century B.C.

Melfi (Pisciolo)

The chronological interpretations for Melfi come exclusively from necropoli. There is some evidence for influence and importation from the area of Puglia and Daunian culture from the Iron Age to the middle of the V century. From the middle of the IV century, however, the rites of burial and the funerary equipment attest to the Oscanization of the site.[43]

From the Pisciolo area of the region, where only a necropolis has been discovered, comes a gorgoneion antefix of the circular type that is also found at Serra di Vaglio and Lavello (type Ia) based on models from Metaponto and therefore is probably datable to the VI century. The gorgon has a row of curls at the forehead, a grinning mouth with tusks and pendent tongue, small, almond-shaped eyes, and arched eyebrows forming a "V". The face also is surrounded by a corona of serpents in the usual manner, but this example differs in that the antefix is extended by an addition around the snake border.[44] This may have been necessary due to reduction that occurred if this antefix was taken from another antefix as opposed to an actual mould.

COASTAL LUCANIA

Paestum: The Lucanian Period

The Greek period of Poseidonia is well known and documented by the magnificent temples. These temples seem to have been exclusively decorated by lateral simae and no antefixes from the earlier period have surfaced, even for use on "naiskoi", and thus the site has not been inluded in the chapter on Greek sites. At around 410 B.C., however, Poseidonia fell to the Lucanians and thus belongs in the sphere of its culture from this date.

A very unusual antefix, dating to the IV century, represents a gorgoneion.[45] It is rather small, with a preserved height of only 16 cm. and length of 16.5 cm., although much of the border appears to be

missing. The back is attached to a semi-cylindrical "coppo". The clay is vivid orange with numerous inclusions. Conserved in the lower part of the face is a trace of red colour. The antefix is made from a mould and touched up in the usual manner. The face is round and squat, with almond-shaped eyes, and ears in full view adorned with disc earrings. There is a trace of a nimbus above the ears. The mouth is opened with the trace of the upper teeth showing and the tip of the tonque jutting out. The hair is combed in small locks covered by a "sphendone" or diadem with two protuberances, which may be horns, at the height of the temple.

Only very general stylistic comparisons can be made for this antefix. Tarantine antefixes of the IV century [46] have resemblances with some features of the face, but these do not have the protruding tongue which is a feature more of the "horrid" type. The hairstyle and the "sphendone" or diadem with horns recall the Tarantine Io or Artemis Tauropulos antefixes from the middle of the IV century. The treatment of the face also recalls Campanian terra-cottas. [47]

GORGON ANTEFIXES FROM LUCANIA

1. E.T. Salmon, The Making of Roman Italy, Ithaca, 1982, p. 15. For example, the Lucani wrote their language right to left like other Sabelli, but used the Greek alphabet, and not Oscan.

2. Pier Guzzo, Le città scomparse della Magna Grecia, Rome, 1982, pp. 354-55, (Hereafter cited as Guzzo (1982)).

3. Giovanna Greco, "Lo sviluppo di Serra di Vaglio nel V è VI sec. a.C.", MelRome, 94, 1984, Part I, p. 67, (Hereafter cited as Greco, "Serra di Vaglio")

4. Ibid.

5. Guzzo (1982), pp. 131, 355

6. Dinu Adamesteanu, "Scavi e ricerche archeologiche in Basilicata", Antiche Civilta Lucane, Atti del Convegno di Studi Archeologia, Storie dell'Arte e del Folklore, 1975, (Hereafter cited as ACL), p. 20

7. Guzzo (1982), p. 83, fig. 7

8. J.C. Carter, Supplemento, NSc, 31, 1977, p. 455, fig. 31, as well as those from temple D discussed in Adamesteanu, Mertens, De Siena, "Sanctuario di Apollo. Tempio D", BdA, 60, 1975, p. 26, fig. 43

9. Adamesteanu, "La Basilicata", Atti Taranto, IX, 1969, p. 221

10. Greco, "Serra di Vaglio", p. 71, see note 5, p. 68 for a description. No illustration is available.

11. Ibid., p. 68, note 5, variant VI. No illustration is available.

12. Ibid., p. 68, note 5, variant VII. No illustration is available.

13. See Laviosa, nos. 14-16, pl. LXXI, 2, 3

14. Adamesteanu, ACL, p. 20

15. Ibid., also Guzzo (1982), p. 356

16. Guzzo (1982), p. 356

17. Greco, "Serra di Vaglio", p. 68, note 5, variant VIII- a semi-elliptical indigenous version with the hair rendered "a raggiera" around the plaque, with small, close-set eyes, XI- the same variant with slender snakes around the plaque, and XII- a semi-circular plaque with the tresses of the hair rendered by the backbone of a fish.

18. Adamesteanu, ACL, p. 21

19. Information on the site from Guzzo (1982), p. 362 and Lissi-Carona, "I risultati di tre campagne di scavo ad Oppido Lucano", ACL, pp. 143-47

20. Lissi-Carona, "Oppido Lucano", NSc, 34, 1980, p. 263, fig. 205

21. Laviosa, pl. LXIX, 1

22. Lissi-Carona, NSc, 34, 1980, p. 263

23. See Chapter Three on Geloan archaizing and this trend in Lucania.

24. Greco, "Lavello", pl. VII, fig. 12

25. See Carter, Supplemento, NSc, 31, 1977, p. 455, no. 27, fig. 31

26. See Greco, "Lavello", p. 143

27. Ibid.

28. Carter, Supplemento, NSc, 31, 1977, p. 456

29. Information on this site from Guzzo (1982), p. 263

30. Terrosi-Zanco, ParPass, XCVIII, 1964, p. 369, fig. 2. Only a photograph was available for the study of this antefix and therefore there is no detailed description.

31. Information on this site from Guzzo (1982), p. 365

32. A study of the antefixes from Lavello has been done by G. Greco in RendNap LII, 1977, pp. 131-46

33. Greco, "Lavello", p. 132. Guzzo (1982) would see them as belonging to the sanctuary of San Felice, p. 365

34. Numerous examples from the Ionic temple published by La Cava and cited by Greco, "Lavello", p. 142, and illustrated as pl. VII, fig. 13, and pl. VIII, figs. 14, 15

35. Greco, "Lavello", pl. IV, fig. 7

36. Ibid., p. 143. R.J. Buck in "The Ancient Roads of Eastern Lucania", PBSR, XLIII, 1974, p. 64, cites evidence of an ancient route from Irsina to Venosa which is directly north of Lavello.

37. Greco, "Lavello", p. 141. For example, pl. I, fig. 1

38. For example, those from Taranto. See Laviosa, no. 12, pl. LXX, 5

39. Greco, "Lavello", pl. V, figs. 8, 9 and pl. VI, fig. 10

40. Guzzo (1982), p. 367

41. Unfortunately the description of this antefix is based only on a photograph in Guzzo (1982), p. 367, and thus no measurements are available.

42. The "grotesque" nature of this "horrid" type is actually more reminiscent of Etrusco-Campanian production. See Van Buren, Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium, pl. II and Koch, pl. XXI, 2

43. Guzzo (1982), p. 365

44. Orlandini, Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, pl. XXXVIII, 1. Again this description is based only on photographs and no other details can be provided.

45. E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, Poseidonia-Paestum II, Rome, 1983, p. 135, no. 250, fig. 82

46. The "calm" type, Laviosa, p. 235, no. 19, pl. LXXII, 1 and 2

47. E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, Poseidonia-Paestum II, p. 135. Perhaps the slight trace of a nimbus is Campanian influence as well.

III. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

From the above research on the available evidence of gorgon antefixes in Lucania certain observations can be made about their distribution, development, and usage.

First, gorgon antefixes, or any other types of antefixes, have not been discovered at all sites. This, of course, may be due to the fact that they have not yet been recovered and may come to light with future excavations. In Lucania tombs have been the major objects of excavation and only recently has research of habitation areas occurred. Also many antefixes that have already been discovered may not yet have been published, and are thus unavailable for all to study. These factors must of course be taken into account in light of any conclusions that may be made.

DISTRIBUTION

The antefixes are logically distributed at sites along the major trade and communication routes between Metaponto and Taranto on the Ionian coast and the Tyrrhenian sea, in particular Paestum, that ran along the Bradano and Basento river valleys through the interior of Lucania. (See figure 1) From the Bradano the Greek models moved up the course of the Ofanto river. From here there is also evidence that the Greek models spread beyond the Ofanto to northern Daunia in the V century through Ausculum and Herdoniae to Arpi. [1]

In the earlier period (VI-V centuries) gorgon antefixes are found at only a few sites along these river routes (see figure 2), but in the IV century there is a slight increase in the number of sites that yield antefixes (see figure 3), such as Torretta di Pietragalla and Banzi. This may be a reflection of the increased prosperity of this century and the move toward urbanization.

Another interesting feature of the distribution is the apparent lack of gorgon antefixes along the Cavone river valley, which is in the vicinity of Metaponto, at sites such as Pisticci and Garaguso. In addition, there is a dearth of examples from sites that are nearer the coast and the Greek cities. The gorgoneia seem to be concentrated more in the hinterland of Lucania. One possible explanation may be a local taste in this part of Lucania for this type of decoration that has ties to the Etrusco-Campanian sphere, which also has a rich tradition in gorgon antefixes, but with these sites borrowing the models from the more accessible Greek centers of the Ionian coast.

DEVELOPMENT

In the early archaic period the Lucanian centers imported or copied moulds for the gorgoneion antefixes from the Greek centers. The early antefixes from Serra di Vaglio, Lavello, and Melfi show direct links to Greek types, especially Metapontine, and some appear to have been taken directly from Greek moulds. These antefixes belong to the period of cultural unity in Lucania that resulted from the first contact with the Greek centers. [2]

In the V century there is an attempt by the local artisans at the first regional interpretations which result in a "deformation" of the Greek models,[3] that is seen in the local variations from Serra di Vaglio and Lavello. This may be the outcome of the "stasis" that occurs in Lucania at this time, reflected in the caesura of activity at some sites [4] which would see a break with Greek contacts and a reliance by the artisans on local ideas.

There is a reawakening in Lucania around the middle of the IV century, a period that is characterized by the construction of fortifications of the Greek type, as well as an increase of cult places (Rossano di Vaglio, Armento, Fontana Bona di Ruoti). [5] There is a rise in the creativity of the Lucanian artisans [6] and an assimilation of Hellenic influences [7]. The result is a second cultural "koine" in which "lo spirito locale e permanentemente presente". [8]

This local spirit is also reflected in antefix production, and in particular for our study the gorgoneion antefixes. The sites of Lucania in the IV and into the III centuries produce their own interesting local interpretations of the Greek models with an identity all their own that appears to be the result of not only the "hellenization" of the area, but also a "melting pot" of artistic influences from the Greek world, Campania, Apulia, and Lucania itself. This part of northern Basilicata appears to have been an area of convergence for cultural and economic currents coming from the Ionic coast via the Bradano-Basento, from Daunia by the Ofanto valley, and the Etrusco-Campanian sphere through the Candela pass. [9] For this reason exact sources cannot be found for

the local products of this period, but they must be seen as a combination of forms. In the example from Lavello an interpretation of the "calm" gorgon is combined with its own unique border of stylized snakes. A similar trend can be seen in the example from Banzi of an unique "horrid" type, which may have ties to Etrusco-Campanian production, that also has its own decorative border. The Paestan example sees a melding of both the "calm" type from Taranto with elements of the "horrid" gorgon as well as Campanian influences. In this example the "sphendone" or diadem of the female head antefixes from Taranto is placed on a gorgon head. The example from Torretta di Pietragalla also has it own interpretation of the "pathetic" Hellenistic type produced by the undercutting of the eyes [10] again with an original framing element, perhaps under Campanian influence.

These antefixes also reflect the tendency of the indigenous artisans to "geometrize" or "make abstract" the plastic "humanized" representations of the Greek models- "dall'organicita all'astrazione". [11] This abstraction can also be seen in other architectural terra-cottas, ceramics, bronze work, and statuettes. [12] This process of "disintegration" or "deformation" of the established forms, however, should not necessarily be seen in a negative light and artistically "non priva di una sua personalita ed efficacia". [13] These antefixes do, however, reflect trends in Hellenistic art in the inclination of the eyes, the volumetric disposition of the head and the balance of the forms. [14]

Although most of the antefixes from Lucania show influences of Hellenistic art, being interpretations by the artisans, albeit in their

own manner, either of the "calm" or "pathetic" type, some examples still retain elements of the "horrid" gorgon of archaic art. This is particularly reflected at Paestum and Banzi (and perhaps Oppido Lucano if a later date is accepted). The inhabitants of Serra di Vaglio also appear not to have used the more humanized form of gorgoneion, but preferred the "horrid" type into the later period. At Taranto and other Greek centers of the mainland at this point in time this type is no longer produced.

There is, however, at Gela a revival in the use of archaic forms in the recolonization of the city at the middle of the IV century B.C. following the Carthaginian destruction of 405. During the age of Timolean and subsequent tyrants the material from Gela and the surrounding area displays a taste for the imitation of antique models in terra-cotta statuettes, [15] ceramics, [16] and also in gorgon antefixes. From Gela comes a gorgoneion [17] that has been "archaized", possibly even taken from a matrix of an original archaic antefix of the Geloan type of the end of the VI, beginning of the V, with added details in the Hellenistic taste, such as circumflex eyebrows. It appears that the new colonists recovered archaic antefixes during the rebuilding and reused them. [18] These "archaized" gorgoneion models are very diffuse in Gela between the IV and III centuries B.C. and besides antefixes the motif was used for small terra-cotta discs that decorated "cisterne e pozzi". These discs are identical to the antefixes, even in their shape. [19] An antefix from Heraclea Minoa of the second half of the IV century [20] that is also archaized suggests that this trend of a return to archaic models might be even more widespread in Sicily. [21]

It is possible that the example from Paestum may owe its "horrid" tendencies to Sicilian influence. In this period there are many connections between Paestum and Sicily in ceramic as well as other terra-cottas such as statuettes. [22] There is also increasing archaeological evidence for a Sicilian connection with other sites along the western coast such as Laos and Roccagloriosa. Dionysius of Syracuse (405-367 B.C.) is believed to have had an understanding with the Lucani as they were moving into Calabria, even defeating the Italiote league in a battle near Caulonia in 389. B.C. There is also the possiblity of a hypothesized later treaty of Agothocles of Syracuse (315-289 B.C.) with Velia and Naples. [23] It may be that the Paestan example has been influenced by the archaizing from Sicily in combination with the Hellenistic trends coming out of Taranto. Serra di Vaglio and Banzi possibly may have some connection to Paestum (as also might Oppido Lucano which is nearby). There is growing evidence that at this later period Lucania was gravitating more to the western coast than the Greek cities of the Ionican coast due to disturbances in that area. [24]

The archaic nature of these antefixes from Lucania may be due to a particular preference at these sites dependent on the attitude of their inhabitants. This tendency to archaize is also found in other terra-cottas from Lucania, particularly from religious and funerary contexts. The archaizing of these types of objects is probably due to their religious nature, which often tends toward conservatism. The antefixes may also be represented in an archaic manner because of their application to religious buildings, as the example from Banzi, but there is no evidence that the other examples were used for sacred buildings and

there is actually a move toward a more private designation for these decorations (see below). Apart from a strictly religious basis for the archaic taste at this time, perhaps this tendency was due to a desire of the inhabitants at these sites to express a "nationalistic" isolation from the mainstream artistic currents by embracing motifs from the past in order to emphasize their own ancient traditions.[25] Aside from the archaic tendencies, this individualization of representations is expressed in all the antefixes from this period, an event that coincides with the increasing centralization and systemization of sites in Lucania from the middle of the IV century until romanization.

USES

Unfortunately in most cases it is difficult to assign these antefixes to any exact location, owing to either the state of preservation of the site itself or the nature of their retrieval, sometimes from private collections. By inference and comparison, however, a system can be worked out for their application to buildings.

In times past the discovery of antefixes and other architectural terra-cottas would immediately result in their assignment to a temple, whether the actual structure was detected or not. This idea has now been tempered to the use of antefixes for other buildings, although they are usually sacred in nature. In the Greek centers antefixes were commonly used to adorn the minor buildings of the sanctuary zone, most probably small "naiskoi". In Lucania this use seems to be similar. Those from Lavello are said to have decorated small sacred buildings,

some probably at the sanctuary of San Felice, [26] although the nature of their recovery makes it impossible to state this precisely. The Irsina example decorated a sacred building of the Greek type, as did possibly some of the antefixes from Serra di Vaglio. At Banzi the antefix also comes from a sanctuary location, Fontana dei Monaci. A small "sacello" decorated with silen and gorgon antefixes was discovered at Armento. but the examples are as yet unpublished. [27]

There is also evidence for an alternate use for antefix decoration on private and public buildings in other areas of Italy that is also reflected in Lucania. At Taranto it has already been suggested that antefixes may have been used for private architecture. [28] At Himera antefixes have been discovered in the excavations of the residential area, and at Morgantina houses may also have been decorated by antefixes. [29] At Aquarossa a stoa-like set of rooms that seems to be a civic centre was decorated with antefixes that lined the flanks of the eaves of the portico. [30]

Some sites in Lucania also reveal that antefixes were used for buildings that were other than funerary or sacred in nature. At Serra di Vaglio antefixes adorned the buildings that lined the axes of streets of the habitation area of the archaic phase. In the V century in particular there is evidence that the rectangular building A was decorated with gorgoneion antefixes. The exact use of this building has not yet been determined, but perhaps it could have had a public use, such as the structures of Aquarossa. [31] No antefixes from Serra di Vaglio have been precisely designated to the IV century buildings, but perhaps a structure

such as a peristyle around the "basolato" was adorned with antefixes. Oppido Lucano as well has yielded antefixes from what appears to be a habitation location. These antefixes were found in a cistern area [32] so they may have been used for the decoration of a domestic structure.

Unfortunately the other antefixes can be assigned with even less certainty to definite buildings, but is can be assumed that they were used for both public and sacred buildings. One important point to note about the IV and III centuries in Magna Graecia and Sicily, and probably also in Lucania, is the increased use of antefixes in public (porticos) and private buildings (houses). [33]

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. Mazzei, Taras, I, 1981, p. 31
2. Adamesteanu, ACL, p. 23
3. Orlandini, Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, p. 281
4. Adamesteanu, ACL, p. 23
5. Ibid.
6. The votive offerings from these cult areas reflect local interpretations of Greek models. Ibid., p. 26
7. Greco, "Lavello", p. 144
8. Adamesteanu, ACL, p. 26
9. Greco, "Lavello", pp. 145-46
10. Terrosi Zanco, ParPass, XCVIII, 1964, p. 436
11. R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, Organicità e astrazione, Milan, 1956. Quoted in Orlandini, Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, p. 285
12. Orlandini, Atti Taranto, XI, 1971, pp. 273-308, passim
13. Ibid., p. 285
14. Terrosi Zanco, ParPass, XCVIII, 1964, p. 368
15. Orlandini, "Typologia e cronologia del materiale archeologico di Gela dal nuova fondazione di Timoleonte all'eta di Ierone II", Part I, ArchCl, 9, 1957, p. 56
16. Orlandini, "Il gusto per l'imitazione dell'antico nella Gela del IV-III sec. a.C., ArchCl, 10, 1958, p. 241
17. Orlandini and Adamesteanu, "Gela, Nuovi Scavi", NSc, 14, 1960, p. 171, fig. 9b
18. Orlandini, ArchCl, 9, 1957, p. 70
19. Adamesteanu, "Manfria", NSc, 12, 1958, p. 311, fig. 16 and Orlandini and Adamesteanu, "Gela", NSc, 14, 1960, p. 136, fig. 16. For a discussion of these discettes see Orlandini, "Materiale archeologico Gelese del IV-III sec. a.C. nel Museo Nazionale di Siracusa", ArchCl, 12, 1960, pp. 57-70

20. De Miro, "Heraclea Minoa", NSc, 12, 1958, pp. 274-75, fig. 43

21. See also Orlandini, ArchCl, 12, 1960, pp. 57-70

22. E. Greco and D. Theodorescu, Poseidonia-Paestum II. For example: Statuettes with "polos" that have an affinity to those from Gela dating to the time of Timoleon, pp. 126-27, and a gorgoneion "oscillum" that is similar to material from Gela of the second half of the IV century B.C., p. 133

23. E.T. Salmon, The Making of Roman Italy, p. 15 and P. Wuilleumier, Tarente des Origines a la Conquete Romaine, p. 97

24. C. Ampolo, A. Bottini, P.G. Guzzo, Popoli e Civilta dell'Italia Antica, Rome, 1986, p. 356

25. This desire to emphasize the venerability and permanence of existing institutions can also be seen in examples of archaizing that occur in material of the IV and III centuries B.C. from the Athenian agora. E. Harrison, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, vol. XI, The Athenian Agora, p. 64. Thanks to H. Fracchia for this suggestion.

26. Greco, "Lavello", p. 132

27. Adamesteanu, "L'attivita archeologica in Basilicata", Atti Taranto, X, 1970, p. 481

28. Laviosa, p. 221

29. Winter (1982), p. 52. Gorgon head antefixes dated 560-540 were found in the levels above the houses dating to the VI century in the Cittadella area of Morgantina. It is not certain that these antefixes belong to these houses or ones further up the slope, or even a temple on the summit, but the possibility that they may have had a domestic use is warranted.

30. Ibid.

31. It is important to note here that the division of "civic/public" and sacred buildings is not always so clear and that the civic buildings may also have had some religious significance. It is also important to remember that religious buildings also had a public nature.

32. Lissi-Carona, "Oppido Lucano", NSc, 34, 1980, p. 263

33. Marie Jose Strazzula, "Le Produzioni dal IV al I sec. a.C. (Le Terracotte Architettoniche)", Merci, Mercati e Scambi nel Mediterraneo, a cura di Andrea Giardina a Aldo Schiavone, Editori Laterza, 1981, p. 189

IV. THE GORGONEION FROM ROCCAGLORIOSA

During the recent excavations of the site of Roccagloriosa in the summer of 1985 a fragment of a terra-cotta gorgoneion was recovered. This gorgoneion may now be added to our discussion of the characteristics of this decorative motif of Lucania.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE

Roccagloriosa is located in Western Lucania twenty-five kilometers south-east of Velia in the lower Cilento region on the limestone ridge that divides the Mingardo and Bussento river valleys. It was protected to the southeast by a natural drop of the crest of the ridge of over eighty meters, and on the west by a massive fortification wall built around the middle of the IV century B.C. to create a fortified area within. This wall has been defined for more than 1200 meters and has several gates. Aside from habitation areas within the wall, traces of scattered habitations have also been found on the small plateaus sloping to the east toward the Mingardo river. [1] The site was occupied mainly in the IV-III centuries B.C., although an Iron age habitation of uncertain size has been discovered on the northwest corner (Carnineto) of the defensive area [2] as well as some early material such as indigenous painted pottery [3] and post-holes from an Iron Age hut to the northwest of the courtyard of the central plateau area. (See figure 4)

Roccagloriosa has been under excavation from 1977, with some spectacular finds from the tombs of the La Scala cemetery area. The habitation area, which concerns us here, has been under extensive

excavations from 1982, and is centered on the area on the top of the ridge to the east of the so-called central gate, surrounded by the ashlar wall.

The central plateau is noted by the discovery of structures dated to the IV century of a major "aristocratic" residence [4] centered on a large courtyard of "basolato". [5] (See figure 5) To the north of this pavement there appears to have been an industrial area separated from the central area by a tile wall that is identified by the presence of drainage canals, a possible settling tank for clay, and a well-preserved kiln with a possible waster dump. In the area east of the paved court a large wall of cut stones was discovered, wall B, which acted as a back wall for an L-shaped portico around the courtyard and the structure of which (its size and careful construction in a manner to counteract the sloping ground) supports the idea that it carried the east side of a pitched roof whose west side was supported by wooden posts set in the blocks of the paved court. [6] This portico surrounded the central courtyard on at least two sides, originally three. [7] A series of rooms exist to the south of this central structure that appear to be used for habitation, but the exact functions of which have not yet been confirmed. These rooms were originally believed to have belonged to the complex with the central courtyard, but more recent excavations have shown that there is a passage way between rooms 1, 2 and 3, 4. that divides the existing structures into two separate complexes. An interesting feature of the paved coutryard is the discovery of a votive structure and deposit "F 11" that underlines the importance of this area and its "transformation into a public center" at this

period.[8] This "shrine" was located on the northeast corner of the paved area and is a square structure covered by a gabled roof of pan and cover-tiles with an opening on the west side that was found closed by a large tegula.[9] The courtyard with its shrine probably had a religious focus, and apart from religious functions this area probably served as an administrative and political center.[10]

The monumentalization of this area of the site with the paved court and portico takes place in the late IV century B.C., an event that conforms to the development in other inland areas of central-south Italy in both private and public buildings.[11] This type of structure also has a parallel at the site of Roccagloriosa in the DB area outside the walls which has a paved area bordered by a line of ashlar masonry that has only been slightly explored and is also dated to the second half of the IV century. An area excavated in 1977 on the southeastern plateau has the foundation of a large rectangular building dated to the first half of the IV with a paved court added in the second half of the century which became the central focus of the complex.[12] (See figure 4)

STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS AND DATING

Since the monumentalization of the central courtyard denoted by the presence of "louteria" as well as the votive structure is believed to have taken place at the end of the IV century B.C. then logically a terra-cotta gorgoneion found in this area might also be considered as part of this monumentalization, and could therefore date at least to the end of the IV century B.C., as its use at an earlier date would be an anomoly.[13]

This presence of an antefix at the site of Roccagloriosa parallels the increase in the occurrence of antefixes at other Lucanian sites at this time.

The stylistic considerations of the piece also fit into this time frame in light of the other examples from Lucania that have been discussed above. One of the first difficulties with the piece is that only a small portion is preserved. The entire top which would give an idea of the type of hair, eyes, etc. is missing, and thus limits our discussion. The surviving fragment, however, which clearly shows a grimacing mouth, the slight trace of an upper row of teeth, and a pendent tongue, does give some details to be studied.

These remaing details do show that this gorgon represented a "horrid" type. This piece, if it does come from the end of the IV century, is unusual in that it does not represent the stylistic trends in the influential Greek center of Taranto, as well as in some areas of Lucania. As has been noted above in this period at these sites the "horrid" type of gorgoneion has been replaced by the "calm" and Hellenistic type. The local interpretations of these types, such as the examples from Lavello and Torreta di Pietragalla, reflect an attempt to portray a more humanized form of the gorgoneion.

The "horrid" type of gorgoneion is represented, however, at some sites of Lucacia at this period. Serra di Vaglio apparently continues to produce the "horrid" type into the IV century although no definite antefixes have been assigned to this period. This type of gorgoneia

is found also at Banzi within the IV century and perhaps Oppido Lucano if a later date is accepted for this piece, as well as a combination of "calm/horrid" type from Paestum in Campania that from 410 B.C. can now be included in the Lucanain sphere. It is with these sites that the Roccagloriosa gorgoneion has its closest stylistic parallels, although none are very exact.

Unfortunately since no antefixes have been positively assigned to this period at Serra di Vaglio and photographs are not available for many of the examples and the descriptions are limited, these examples can not be directly compared. All that can be said is that the site, like Roccagloriosa, seems to prefer the archaic form of gorgoneion even into the later period.

The Paestan gorgon has an upper row of teeth and a pendent tongue as does the Roccagloriosa example, but lacks the tusks which might be a local variation. The Roccagloriosa gorgon also has a rounder face than the Paestan example, which more closely represents a human face, probably under Tarantine influence. Unfortunately the nose of the Paestan gorgon has been broken and the Roccagloriosa gorgon is missing the entire upper portion so these elements can not be compared.

The gorgoneion from Banzi is a true "horrid" type with a grimacing mouth and tusks, almond-shaped eyes, and heavy eyelids. The Roccagloriosa gorgon does not seem to have the quite so "grotesque" features of the Banzi example, but a more softened form. The border of the antefix from Banzi does have some comparisons with the Roccagloriosa example in

its circular shape with slight edges, but it is much more elaborate. It appears that in this period, as witnessed at Banzi as well as Lavello and Torretta di Pietragalla, the local artisans developed their own framing design according to local taste.

Also in Sicily and in particular at Gela the archaic gorgon form appears at this late date. Perhaps the Roccagloriosa gorgon was influenced in this trend through Paestum, whose artistic connections to the site are only now being understood. There is increasing archaelogical evidence of Sicilian ties along the western coast with the sites of Laos and Roccagloriosa. [14] The votive terra-cotta from the shrine and pottery from the tombs at the site reveal Sicilian connections. [15]

The archaic nature of the gorgoneion from Roccagloriosa may also be explained as a personal choice on the part of the aristocratic family whose "residence" it adorned to return to older forms in order to establish or reemphasize their own tradition. [16] This conservatism can also be seen in some of the tombs, both in the manner and style of burial. The protome/pinax heads from tomb 15 in particular are traditional and conservative in their style and form and seem to represent the traditions of an older established elite. [17] Perhaps this conservatism in tombs is also reflected in the habitation.

The fact that no exact parallels can be found for the Roccagloriosa gorgoneion but only vague stylistic connections and its unusual border can best be explained in light of the other examples from Lucania. As was discussed in the previous chapter in the VI an V centuries it was

possible to state that antefixes were imported or closely copied from Greek originals. By the IV century and into the III the local artisans had developed their own interpretations of these types and no exact parallels from the Greek centers or other Lucanian sites can be identified for these representations.[18] This phenomenon has possibly best been explained by Giovanna Greco, who states that at this time period "si elaborano quindi prodotti che non possono essere etichettati semplicisticamente e che denotano invece una ricchezza di istanze e di creativita"[19]. The Roccagloriosa gorgon also fits this model in that it is a representation of a gorgoneion made according to the local artists ideas and interpretation of various influences. This strong local artistic tradition is also seen in some of the statuettes from the votive deposit, in the terra-cotta heads and jewelry found in the tombs and in the small terra-cotta discs found in the settlement.[20]

USE

The gorgoneion was unfortunately found out of context, built into the long wall extending to the south that was probably part of the later rebuilding. The gorgoneion thus appears to be part of an earlier structure. It possibly could have been an antefix that was used to decorate the portico around the central courtyard. The portico is believed to have had a lean-to roof, and was probably built of wood which would necessitate the use of tiles, both pan and cover, in the usual manner, and therefore, if this area was to be the focus of the complex the roof would be decorated with antfixes in order to add a certain sense of monumentality and grandeur. The application of antefixes

around the portico of the courtyard would conform to the increased use of this type of decoration on public and private buildings in the IV, beginning of the III centuries B.C. that is noted in other areas of Magna Graecia and Sicily. [21] In Lucania the site of Serra di Vaglio appears to have had such a use for antefixes in the habitation area in the early period of the VI-V centuries and the presence of the "basolato" in the IV appears to be similar to the construction at Roccagloriosa, but no definite use of antefixes for this area has been documented. If this is indeed the case at Roccagloriosa it is important for the understanding of the architecture as well as for the use of antefixes among the Lucanians in this period.

One of the problems with the use of gorgoneions as an antefix is that only one has been found. Although one should not argue from negative evidence, it does seem unusual that no others have come to light in the rather extensive excavations in the area. Sites such as Serra di Vaglio have yielded forty fragments of antefixes. If the portico surrounded the courtyard on three sides then it would stretch 20 meters and would call for quite a large number of antefixes. [22] Another problem is the size of the gorgoneion. The surviving fragment has finished edges along two sides and it is possible therefore to project a diameter of around 17 cm., which is rather small. Measurements of cover-tiles at the site have a diameter of 16-16.5 cm. Antifixes should ideally project some distance beyond the cover-tile in order to obtain a better fit. Perhaps this "antefix" had an alternate use than as a decoration for the cover-tiles. [23]

Gorgoneia wre also used as frontal decoration throughout the Mediterranean, being ideally suited for use a plaques to decorate the pediments of buildings or as acroteria, because their circular shape was the easiest to fit within the triangle of the pediment and the motif was easy to render as it was already established in art. [24] Early examples of gorgons placed in the pediment are found at the Northwest Greek sites of Kalydon, Thermon, and Korkyra at around 570 B.C. [25] Also in Southern Italy and Sicily in the VI century there was a strong tradition of using gorgoneion plaques a pedimental decoration with examples from Selinus, Syracuse, Gela, Akragas, Camarina, Himera, Metaponto, and Hipponion, [26] as well as a representation of a gorgoneion, here placed on the apex of the pediment, on a pinax from Locri, [27] and a "naiskos" model from Sabucina which has a gorgon in the pediment. [28] Gorgons were also used as acoteria in Sicily. [29] Also within the VI century in Campania gorgoneia were used in the pediment, either painted or in low relief on a terracotta plaque. [30] This type of decoration was also used in Etruria from an early period. [31] At about 480 B.C., however, the use of gorgon laques for temple decoration died out at the Greek centers in favour of carved pediments. [32] A similar occurrence took place in Etruria with the increased use of pedimental sculpture. [33]

Yet there is evidence that this type of decoration continued to be used both in Etruria and Southern Italy in the later periods, if not for temple architecture, on small shrines and other buildings. [34] Votive models from Capua of the IV century and at Teano as late as the second half of the II century depict faces and circles in the pediment. [35]

From Fratte de Salerno comes a terra-cotta "clipeus" with the head of Achelous of c. 450 [36] and a circular plaque of Heracles and the Nemean Lion of the IV century [37] that were used as covers of the "columen". There are also examples from Capua of a gorgon for frontal decoration of a later period and a female head of the Hellenistic age. [38] One of the stongest evidences for the continued use of this type of decoration are the numerous representations of "naiskoi" on southern Italian vase paintings which contain mask-like faces of gorgons in their pediments.[39]

On account of its single provenance and unusual size, perhaps this gorgoneion from Roccagorosia was used for frontal decoration in a pediment or as an acroterium of the entrance way to the central courtyard. There is evidence for two doorways on the southeast side of the portico, but their thresholds are much lower than the "basolato" and are probably from an earlier phase. The main entrance of the monumentalized phase was probably on the now destroyed northwest side which aligns with the orientation of the "shrine" F 11, for which such a decoration would be suited. It is important to note that palmette antefixes have also been found near the "basolato" and may have supplemented the gorgon as decoration around the portico, but these antefixes are also unusual in their form, at least as can be detected from a drawing, as first hand examination was not possible. Thesepalmettes appear to curve inward, which does not parallel other palmette antefixes from Taranto or Lucanian sites such as Serra di Vaglio, which are completely flat. [40] The unusual curve of these palmettes also points to acroteria more than antefixes and they may have been used for similar decorations. Although there is no direct

evidence for this type of decoration at other sites in Lucania, there does appear to be a decrease in the number of antefixes from the sites in the later period.[41] Perhaps a similar practice was occurring at other sites, and as this type of decoration was used in neighboring areas, such as Campania into the IV and III centuries and was to become popular among the Romans, the possibility of its use in Lucania is warranted.

LOCAL PRODUCTION

From the study of other terra-cottas at the site and the individual nature of the gorgoneion, it is probable that Roccagloriosa indeed produced its own terra-cottas. The mechanical process in terra-cotta production is relatively simple and only requires the presence of craftsmen and not artisans,[42] although Roccagloriosa's increasing importance as a site, reflected in the rich finds of jewelry, fine pottery and the impressive settlement itself, could attest to the presence of at least travelling artisans. The presence of the kiln that contained the pottery dump to the north denotes that ceramic ware was being produced at the site, and if this trade was practised, terra-cotta firing would also be possible. A possible site for this terra-cotta production could be the DB area on the plateau outside the wall where some kind of industrial activity was discovered. This area has yielded disturbed kiln remains and a mould for the production of a life-size terra-cotta head with a "polos".[43] Evidence of manufacturing activity has also been found near the north gate in the discovery of bronze slag.[44] These finds

point to the presence of artisan workshops that were dependent on the elite households or on the major settlement area.[45]

The unusual shape of the gorgoneion, for which no comparanda has been found, is also present in the manufacture of other unique terra-cotta objects from the site which also indicate local production. No comparanda for the protome/pinax heads in relief from tomb 15 that have an unusual feature in the downward slant of the lower edges to a central peak[46] a design that echos the edges of the gorgoneion have been found. This shape may be a local adaptation of the site. Small coin-shaped terra-cotta medallions have also been found on the site, which also do not have any parallels, and point to the originality of production.[47] There is also lack of comparanda for some of the terra-cottas from the votive shrine and the tombs, and the jewelry.[48]

The clay of the gorgoneion also corresponds to other terra-cotta material from the site. It is exactly like the clay from the little votive-pots and some of the statuettes.

THE GORGONEION FROM ROCCAGLORIOSA

1. M. Gualtieri, "Roccagloriosa, Excavations of the site of a Greek Colony in Southern Italy", Expedition, 22-23, 1979-81, p. 36

2. Gualtieri, "Excavations at Roccagloriosa, 1982-83", EMC, 28, 1984, p. 190

3. Information from H. Fracchia

4. Gualtieri, "Fortification and Settlement Organization: An Example from Pre-Roman Italy", forthcoming article in World Archaeology, 19, no. 1, Urbanization, p. 36

5. Information on the site from personal observation and from Gualtieri, EMC, 28, 1984, and EMC, 29, 1985

6. Gualtieri, EMC, 29, 1985, p. 261

7. Ibid., p. 258

8. Ibid., p. 266

9. Gualtieri, EMC, 28, 1984, p. 194

10. Gualtieri, World Archaeology, 19, p. 37

11. Gualtieri, EMC, 29, 1985, p. 263

12. Ibid., p. 26

13. These statements of course are made in light of evidence from the present excavations and future findings may alter these interpretations.

14. Information from H. Fracchia. An interesting note about the Roccagloriosa gorgoneion is that its rather squat and flat nose is similar to those on the examples from Gela and Heraclea Minoa and not like the archaic Tarantine gorgons which have rather long, straight noses.

15. Information from H. Fracchia

16. P. Guzzo in "Lucanians, Brettians and Italiote Greeks in the Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.", Crossroads of the Mediterranean, Louvain-la-neuve, 1982, p. 244 states that the ruling class employed what it received and adopted from the Greeks as a sign of dominance and class differentiation, and that these products served the function of expressing prestige among the elite, p. 227

17 Wendy Elliott, The Terra-Cotta Plaques from Tombs 15 and 25 at Roccagloriosa, M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, P. 66

18. Note for example the above mentioned Paestan gorgoneion for which its excavators have been stretched to find any comparanda.

19. Greco, "Lavello", p. 145

20. Information from H. Fracchia

21. Strazzula, "Le produzioni dal IV al I sec. a.C., (Le Terracotte Architettoniche)", p. 189

22. At least two or three per meter taking into account an antefix width between each antefix.

23. The back of the piece is also completely flat and from the remaining portion shows no evidence for a cover-tile or the groove for one. Usually the cover-tile would extend to a point at least in line with or below the nose. The reverse of the antefix also curves up to meet the tile, as they were usually moulded and fired together. Some of the curvature of the connection to the cover-tile should still be present on our piece. (See Koch for the reverse of antefixes. This has also been noted from personal examination of antefixes at the Taranto Museum.) This point of connection, however, would be the weakest part and thus prone to breakage, but some evidence of curvature should still be seen.

24. P. Montuoro, "L'origine della decorazione frontonale", MemLinc, ser. 6, 1, 1925, p. 294

25. B. Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture, Princeton, 1977, p. 214

26. See Montuoro, MemLinc, ser. 6, 1, 1925, passim

27. Helmut Pruckner, Die Lokrischen Tonreliefs, Mainz, 1968, p. 18, pl. 1

28. P. Orlandini, "Sabucina", ArchCl, 15, 1963, p. 86, pls. XXVII and XXVIII

29. Montuoro, MemLinc, ser. 6, 1 1925, p. 292

30. Koch, p. 73

31. Jenifer Neils, RomMitt, 83, 1976, p. 21

32. Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture, p. 213

33. Andren, p. cxiii

34. Adamesteanu, "Coppi con testate dipinte da Gela", ArchCl, 5, 1953, p. 8

35. See Staccioli: Capua, p. 59, pl. LVIII and p. 62, pl. LXII, Teano, p. 54, pls. LIV LI

36. P.C. Sestieri, NSc, 6, 1952, pp. 90-91

37. Guzzo (1982), p. 198, illustration pp. 200-201

38. Koch, p. 73

39. There are some examples from Hans Lohmann, Grabmaler auf Unteritalischen Vasen, Berlin, 1979, pls. 38 and 39. These date to 340-320 B.C.

40. See Laviosa, p. 248, nos. 1-4, pl. LXXVIII and Greco, "Serra di Vaglio", figs. 18 and 19

41. Sites such as Banzi and Torretta di Pietragalla appear to have only yielded a few examples, but this can not be stated precisely as these antefixes have not yet been published in detail.

42. M. Bell, Morgantina Studies, vol. I, The Terracottas, Princeton, 1981, pp. 3-4

43. Gualtieri, EMC, 28, 1984, p. 196

44. Gualtieri, World Archaeology, 19, p. 37

45. Ibid.

46. Wendy Elliott, M.A. Thesis, p. 50

47. These are currently under study by H. Fracchia

48. Information from H. Fracchia

V. SUMMARY AND FINAL COMMENTS

Greek influences had been penetrating Lucania from an early period through the river valleys. These influences are reflected in the pottery, metal work, and terra-cotta material found at interior sites. Our study of gorgoneion antefixes also reflects this period of contact between the Greek centers of the Ionic coast and the sites of the Lucanian hinterland. At the end of the IV century these indigenous centers began to decorate their buildings, usually those of a sacred nature, in a purely Greek manner. Early antefixes from Serra di Vaglio, Lavello, Irsina, and Melfi have close ties to Metapontine production. Metaponto appears to have been the major exporter of antefixes at this time and there is a great diffusion of its circular gorgoneia bordered by snakes. In the V century local production of these antefixes begins, but the forms are still closely tied to the original Greek models. The conservative nature of these early antefixes is probably due to their use in a sacro-monumental sphere. In the V century Taranto gains ascendency in the area and now most of the antefix production in the hinterland is based on Tarantine inspiration, especially in the development of the "calm" gorgoneion. The IV century, however, sees a change in this close connection to Greek models with a mixing of influences, an increase in the number of sites that yield antefixes, as well as a possible modification in the use of these antefixes. These transitions can perhaps be explained by historical developments.

In the IV century there was an expansion of the Oscan speaking populations who now controlled the area of Lucania that began to threaten the Greek centers. Expanding to the west these peoples captured Paestum in c. 410 B.C. and in 390 an alliance of Italiote cities that was formed in response to this threat was defeated by the Lucanians at the river Laos. The Lucanians then succeeded in overtaking most of southwest Italy, including modern Calabria. [1] The instability and disturbances of this area are paralleled throughout Southern Italy with the expansion of Samnites/Sabellians into Campania and Apulia by 400 B.C. In the IV century, therefore, Lucania and most of Southern Italy was in a state of flux and movement. The various inspirations for the gorgoneion antefixes of the hinterland can possibly be explained by increased Lucanian contacts with othe areas, with influences from Campania moving down from the north [2] and up from Sicily and the south.

The archaelogical record shows an increase in the number of fortified sites in parts of Samnium, Lucania, and Bruttium also in this period.[3] Some of these fortifications probably only had a defensive nature and were used only as a refuge area. [4] There is increasing evidence, however, that the fortified settlements also denote a "material expression of important economic, social, and perhaps political transformations" [5] of sites in the interior that sees a move toward "urbanization".

The increase in sites in Lucania that yield antefixes in the IV century may also be an indication of the transformation of the hinterland.[6] The indigenous communities appear to have acquired their own autonomy and independence [7] that is reflected in an organization of

space marked by the building of fortification walls, the placement of the necropoli outside the walls [8] and the centralization of the area within the walls by the emphasis on certain more substantial buildings [9] which seem to serve as a focal point, possibly for public functions. Unfortunately many of the habitation areas of these fortified sites have not been excavated and knowledge of their structures is limited. For example, at Torretta di Pietragalla no structures have yet been identified to correspond to the wall circuit. The area within the fortifications at Roccagloriosa has fortunately been under extensive excavations since 1982 and as has already been noted in Chapter IV possesses features, such as the votive "shrine", that point to a centralization of the nucleated settlement. The presence of the gorgoneion decoration as well as the palmettes further confirms the focus of this area.

The independence and autonomy of the indigenous sites is also reflected in the form of the antefixes themselves. In the IV and III centuries the local artisans and the market on which the depended appear to have developed enough confidence in their own creativity. Using the basic Greek models the conferred on their products an identity and character that can be clearly distinguished from every other production, [10] an event that is paralleled in other areas [11] as well as in other products. [12]

There is possibly also modification in the application of this decoration, exemplified by the gorgoneion used for the central courtyard at Roccagloriosa. Originally a religious symbol, often associated with sacred decoration, this motif is now extended to the "public" sphere in

its use in this courtyard area, which also is part of a private residence, that has both religious and "civic" functions. This is evidence for an increased public and private use for antefixes in the IV and III centuries in Lucania. Although antefixes may have been used in such a capacity at Serra di Vaglio at an earlier date, most antefixes have been assigned to sacred buildings. The discovery at Roccagloriosa is important for our understanding of the use of this type of decoration in the later period.

An interesting phenomenon of this later period is the apparent "archaizing" of the gorgoneion form in Lucania. This preference for the archaic gorgon may also be a reflection of the independence of production, with some sites choosing to return to older forms. The direct Sicilian influence that this trend seems to denote, especially at Paestum and Roccagloriosa, also warrants some study.

Another avenue to be explored is the possible use of frontal decoration in Lucania. The numerous "naiskoi" with gorgoneia in the pediment point to the popularity of this decoration and actual examples of these "antepagmenta" or "columen" covers have been discovered in neighboring Campania. Perhaps not all of these gorgoneia should be immediately labelled as "antefixes", since alternate uses could be possible. Perhaps the gorgoneion from Roccagloriosa was used in such a manner.

This thesis has been a rather limited attempt to set the gorgon antefix from Lucania within its archaeological and historical framework, with special attention given to the fragment from Roccagloriosa. With future excavations and further publication of those antefixes locked in

the storerooms of museums, perhaps a typology of these antefixes may be worked out that can further add to our understanding of this important period of transformation in Lucania and the process of architectural monumentalization, with an emphasis accorded to certain important spaces.

Figure 1

Map of Sites

Figure 2

Distribution of Gorgoneion Antefixes in the VI-V c. B.C.

*Oppido Lucano has been included on both maps because of its possible later date

Figure 3

Distribution of Gorgoneion
Antefixes in the IV-III c. B.C.

*Oppido Lucano has been included on both
maps because of its possible later date

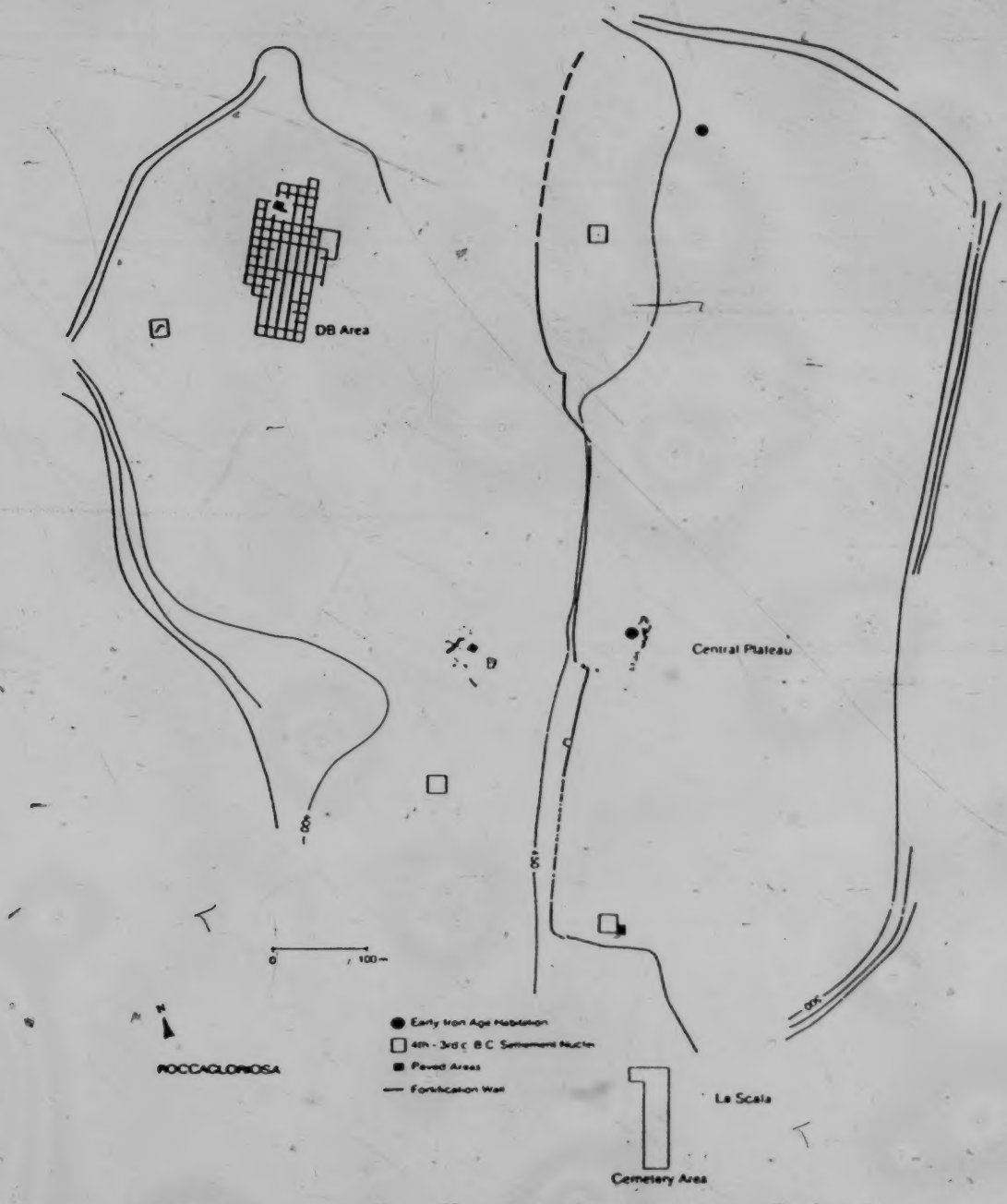

Figure 4 General plan of nucleated settlement at Roccagloriosa

From M Gualtieri, "Fortifications and settlement organisation: an example from pre-Roman Italy", forthcoming in World Archaeology, Volume 19, No. 1, 1987

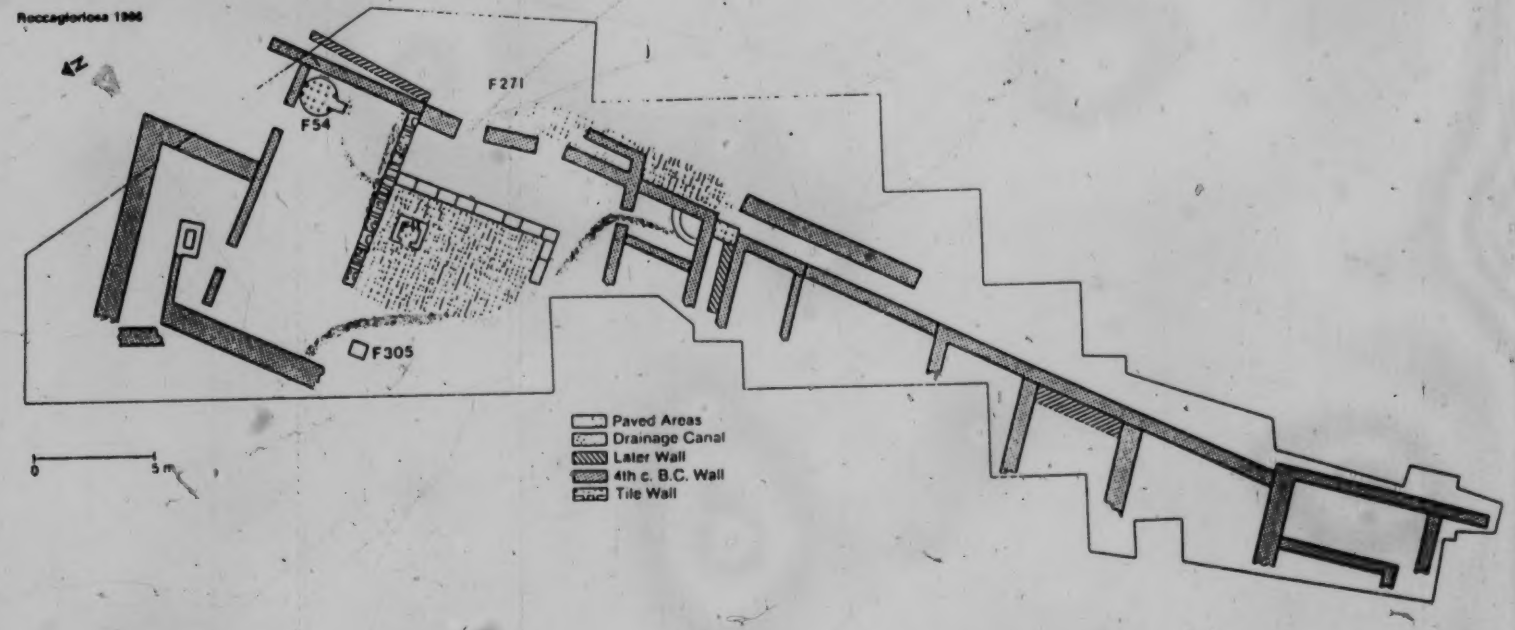

Figure 5

Sketch plan of excavated structures on the Central Plateau showing portico area around the central courtyard.

From M. Gualtieri, "Fortifications and settlement organisation: an example from pre-Roman Italy", forthcoming in World Archaeology, Volume 19, No. 1, 1987

PL. I

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APPENDIX 1

DESCRIPTION OF THE GORGONEION FRAGMENT FROM ROCCAGLORIOSA

Maximum preserved width: 9 cm.

Maximum preserved length: 10 cm.

Maximum thickness: 2 cm.

Clay: Munsell 7.5 Y/R. Many hard limestone inclusions. The firing is quite low as the clay is very soft.

Only the lower portion of the face is preserved, broken off just above the nose. The nose is rather squat and flat. The fragment also includes a grimacing mouth with the slight trace of an upper row of teeth and a tusk on the right side. The left side is broken off at this point. As well there is a pendent tongue. Two finished edges are preserved on the left side and bottom, with a flat border of c. 1 cm. along these edges. The back of the piece is completely flat, with apparent finger ridges made during the smoothing of the surface. There is no evidence of added paint to accentuate the relief as the surface is very worn.